

This is an example of the economy of abundance. The land was all subject to drought and the fields were tiny but there was enough for every one, either at the wash in question or at another. The peaceable acceptance of this fact is in sharp contrast to the attitude of the neighboring Mohave in the Colorado bottom. There the land was rich but it was limited and boundary disputes were so frequent that a special form of fight was developed to settle them.¹ 423

With the fields marked out, each family had the duty of clearing the land and perhaps digging a ditch which would bring the water to a point where it would flood the area. This meant labor and when such labor ceased, the governor might allow another family to use the land, but they must relinquish the right, if any of the original family even the most distant relatives, came back and asked for it. [312]

There were certain duties which the family owed to the village, as a form of tax. It must join with the others in digging a reservoir to catch rain water for drinking purposes since the water of the wash was too muddy and intermittent. Also, if the plain was such that the flood water was not distributed well, it might be necessary to build a short main ditch. Both ditch and reservoir must be cleaned every year and sometimes there were subsidiary ditches though never a real irrigating system. The decision as to cleaning was taken up in council and every man was bound to help. 423
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During the father's lifetime his sons worked the land under his direction and after his death they might continue to do so for a while. (I, 1, A, B, C, D, E; I, 6, A, B, C, D; I, 5, A, B, C). Ultimately, as their families grew, they divided the land between them but with very little formality. Sometimes two sons kept their land together (I, 5, A, C) sometimes one was a hunter and got the family meat while his brothers did the farming (I, 8, E). If more land was needed, one of the sons asked permission of the council and broke land at a distance, his brothers helping him in the work (I, 8, B). 423

Daughters were expected to marry into another village and share their husbands' land. Until they did so, their living was provided in the family group and they were sheltered in the house of any brother who had room. If they returned after divorce or widowhood, they were treated in the same way. There is one instance of an unmarried woman being given land by her brothers but in that case, she was apparently about to marry and the land was given to her husband as a member of the group. (I, 3, C, 2). In another case, a widow with a grown son had land which we may consider as given to the son on the same system (I, 1, A, 3). A woman, in fact, was 423
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¹ Kroeber, 1925, p. 744.

THE PAPAGO AND OTHER PEOPLES

to the discussions. The people as a whole have taken little part, and there are no sanctions to reinforce the status of delegates from many of the districts. So long as there is a leader who is vitally interested in having his district represented in the tribal council, the district organization remains alive; but, if the leader loses interest or leaves, it falls apart. There is no popular demand for representation in the council. The people do not have regular district meetings, and they delay elections long past the time specified in the constitution. All this is an indication of a political system in its infancy which is not yet an integral part of the life of the people.

Popular interest and organization have lagged particularly in the western districts. In Hicikiwan there have been "progressive" men who were interested in tribal organization ever since the days of the Good Government League, but there was always fierce opposition from the conservative element, which rejected white institutions lock, stock, and barrel. The deadlock between the two factions continued for many years, and the bad feeling was augmented by a cattle feud between the leaders of the opposing parties. In the thirties a compromise was reached, whereby the two groups were separated in different villages. Between 1940 and 1943 two of the conservatives served sentences in federal prisons for assault with deadly weapons on Indian police, and three for refusal to comply with the Selective Service Act. With the removal of these men, opposition to Agency proposals and to the tribal council diminished; nevertheless, the Hicikiwan delegates to the council who were elected at that time showed little interest in active organization of the district, and its participation in tribal matters was negligible. Gu Vo, the other western district, had no representatives at the council meetings for two years preceding the present study.

Despite all these handicaps, the council has to its credit a number of real achievements. The tribal herd has helped to improve Reservation cattle, and the various other tribal enterprises have been successful. The method of financing these projects—a 3 per cent tax on all livestock sales by private owners—met with strong opposition at first, but the council's resolute stand on the matter indicates that the members are beginning to feel their responsibilities and that they may become a real power on the Reservation. Recent council activity in planning for the adjustment of returned soldiers and post-war economic developments points in the same direction. Much will depend on the quality of leadership: if the council continues constructive and forceful action instead of degenerating into a group of Agency "yes-men," the tribe may unite in backing up the council. Much will depend too on the policy of future superintendents. The Papago are independent, and they do not like to

families that hold cattle on the three reservations has been estimated at between 400 and 500. Metzler summarizes the economy of stock raising as follows (Metzler, 1959, p. 57):

"The function of cattle for most families is the same as that of a reserve account in a bank. The cattle are not sold until other sources of income have been exhausted, then enough cattle are marketed to meet cash needs of the family until other sources of income again become available. When they have no more cattle they will start to sell off their horses."

It should be added that cattle raising is more than merely an economic enterprise. The Papago and their cattle may be compared to the Navajo and their sheep. In both cases a way of life has been developed which becomes relatively meaningless without livestock and the work of caring for animals on the open range in isolated desert areas.

The meaning of stock raising in the total economy of Papago family life can be assessed with fair accuracy because of the records that must be kept in connection with the tribal assessment of a 3 per cent tax on the value of all livestock sold from the reservation. In 1962 the tribe collected a total of \$19,631.90 in taxes on a gross Indian income of \$654,397 from stock sales. For a number of years sales have totalled about this amount, occasionally running higher. Owning from one to ten head of stock, most families have incomes of less than \$400 per year from ranching. Probably no more than 40 families, according to Metzler, depend entirely on cattle sales for their yearly income. In keeping

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429 non-Indian farmers. Papago Farms is a new development in an area in the western section of Chukut Kuk district which had never been farmed commercially before 1958. A total of 7,500 acres of tribal land was leased in 1957 to a corporation for a ten-year period under a plan that called for ultimate development of 5,600 acres. From 1958 through 1960 the company reported 1,920 acres under cultivation. The following year no crops were planted and the lease was cancelled.

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653 The Papago Tribal Council is now working on a plan to bring this area into cultivation as a tribal enterprise. A similar tribal project is contemplated for the development of 2,000 new acres of irrigated land near the proposed Tat Momolik Dam southwest of Chuichu.

651 Tribal income from farm land during 1961 was derived entirely from the agricultural lease at Gila Bend where non-Indian lessors paid a rental of \$4,000 from a gross crop revenue of \$22,720.

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659 History and Prospects. Papago agriculture has never lived up to its promise. In 1949 the Bureau of Indian Affairs published a Papago Development Program which was the product of joint planning by Indian leaders and Indian Service technicians. At that time it was suggested that irrigated agriculture could be developed on about 16,000 acres of land at Chuichu, San Xavier, and Gila Bend. At that time there were 2,425 acres actually being farmed on